

OCA FILE ~~(HSCA) / Rep Daniel~~
~~Rep Richardson~~
~~Rep McCurdy~~
~~Rep Mavroules~~

OCA 88-0281
2 February 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: (The Director
FROM: John L. Helgeson
Director of Congressional Affairs
SUBJECT: Two New Members of the House Intelligence Committee

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Mr. Mavroules was born in 1929 in Peabody, MA and he has been a Member of Congress since 1978. He is a fairly powerful Member of the Armed Services Committee, though he has clashed with Chairman Les Aspin over the MX missile issue. He is considered a liberal Democrat and he voted against aid to the Nicaraguan Resistance in 1986.

Mr. Richardson was born in 1947 in Pasadena, CA and he is of Hispanic origin. He has been a Member of Congress since 1982 and the major issues he has followed concern the largely Hispanic and Indian constituency which he represents in New Mexico. He, too, is said to be a liberal Democrat. He also voted against aid to the Nicaraguan Resistance in 1986.

Neither of these two new Members has visited the CIA, nor have we briefed them recently. As we did with new Member Dan Glickman (D., KA) two months ago, we will invite Mr. Mavroules and Mr. Richardson for a tour of the premises and a series of introductory briefings in the near future.

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New Mexico - 3rd District

3 Bill Richardson (D)

Of Santa Fe — Elected 1982

Born: Nov. 15, 1947, Pasadena, Calif.
Education: Tufts U., B.A. 1970, M.A. 1971.
Occupation: Business consultant.
Family: Wife, Barbara Flavin.
Religion: Roman Catholic.
Political Career: Executive director, New Mexico Democratic Party, 1978-80; Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 1980.
Capitol Office: 332 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-6190.



In Washington: Richardson is an aggressive, ambitious man whose penchant for publicity makes some colleagues a little wary of him. But he is a shrewd politician, and he knows how to work his way into positions of influence. Sitting on both the Energy and Commerce and Interior committees, Richardson is in a good position to pursue issues that are crucial to New Mexico, and he does so tenaciously.

He possesses superior public relations skills, and he uses his committee assignments to attract valuable attention back home. He sees to it that regular field hearings are held in his district, and that they are widely reported.

Richardson's desire for attention causes him problems in the legislative process. Members hoping to win his support for a measure sometimes complain that the only way to do so is to make him a sponsor and give him a generous supply of the credit, regardless of how important his role has been.

Although he bears an Anglo name, Richardson has a Hispanic background, and has been a leader on Mexican-American issues. Early in the 99th Congress Richardson was chosen as chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, but he later stepped down saying that he wanted to spend more time on state-wide issues in New Mexico. His decision to give up the chairmanship came at a time of controversy over his support for comprehensive immigration reform legislation, which most members of the Hispanic Caucus opposed.

The immigration bill combined legalization of many illegal aliens already in the United States with new sanctions against employers hiring those here illegally. A majority of Hispanics in the House argued against the bill on the grounds that the sanctions would lead to discrimination against anyone who looked or sounded foreign.

Richardson had voted against immigration

reform himself in 1984, but in the 99th Congress he favored a compromise in an effort to make the bill as palatable to Hispanic interests as possible. "There's going to be an immigration bill anyway," he said in 1986. "I hate to fall on my sword." Later he voted for the bill that became law, saying it was "the last gasp for legalization to take place in a humane way."

If Richardson's work on immigration led to some tensions within the Hispanic Caucus, it also may have helped change some minds. In 1984, no members of the Hispanic Caucus supported the legislation; in 1986, four of 10 members went along with his position.

Another sensitive issue for Richardson has been U.S. policy toward Nicaragua. In his first term, Richardson was a staunch critic of Reagan administration efforts to support the contra rebels in that country. But in the 99th Congress he altered his course, expressing concern about human rights abuses by Nicaragua's Sandinista regime. In early 1985 he warned that the Sandinistas needed to "clean up their act," and a few months later he supported sending the contras non-military aid. "I am willing to give the president of the United States a chance and the benefit of the doubt," he said. The House later adopted a Richardson amendment requiring the president to establish procedures to ensure that the aid would not be used for weapons purchases.

In 1986, Richardson opposed administration efforts to send military aid to the contras. Instead he joined with Indiana Democrat Lee H. Hamilton to offer an unsuccessful substitute package providing \$27 million in humanitarian aid to Nicaraguan refugees as well as funding to promote regional peace talks.

Richardson pays particular attention to the needs of American Indians, who have a significant presence in his district. In the 99th

Bill Richardson, D-N.M.

New Mexico 3

With three-fifths of its voters either Hispanic or Indian, the 3rd is decidedly more liberal and more Democratic than either of the state's other constituencies.

The population is divided between the Hispanic counties of northern New Mexico and the energy-rich Indian lands along the Arizona border.

Of the two regions, the Hispanic north is the most loyally Democratic. It includes six of the seven New Mexico counties carried by Walter F. Mondale in 1984. The centerpiece of the region is Santa Fe, the second-largest city in the state, and a pleasant mix of Spanish and Indian cultures has attracted a steady influx of young Anglos.

The rest of the Hispanic north is primarily mountainous, semi-arid grazing land that supports some subsistence farming. Unemployment has been high in the area; the Mora County jobless rate was well above 30 percent for much of this decade.

An economic oasis is the Anglo community of Los Alamos, where the atomic bomb was developed during World War II. One of

North and West — Farmington; Santa Fe

the most prosperous counties in the country, its unemployment rate has been negligible in the 1980s. Its voters — well educated and scientifically inclined — are largely Republicans. But there is a strong moderate streak in some of those Republicans; John B. Anderson's presidential bid drew 15 percent in Los Alamos County in 1980.

The Indian country divides more closely at the polls. The Indians, most of them Navaho, usually vote Democratic. But they turn out in small numbers and occasionally bolt to the Republicans — the council for the Pueblo tribes endorsed Reagan in 1980.

The largest county in the region is San Juan County, where a conservative Anglo population settled around Farmington to tap the vast supply of oil, gas and coal in the Four Corners area. San Juan County gave Reagan two-thirds of its vote in 1984.

Population: 432,492. White 272,117 (63%). Black 2,060 (1%). American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 90,403 (21%). Spanish origin 168,577 (39%). 18 and over 280,182 (65%), 65 and over 34,045 (8%) Median age: 26.

Congress he sought funding to fight alcohol and drug abuse among Indians in the giant anti-drug package. He has also worked on other Indian health legislation, but those efforts were frustrated in the 98th Congress, when President Reagan pocket-vetoed an Indian health package, and in the 99th, when the House and Senate were unable to resolve differences.

Richardson has been an active player on Energy and Commerce from his first months on the committee. In 1983, he teamed with Republican James T. Broyhill of North Carolina to offer a producer-oriented version of legislation governing gas pricing. This was a good deal for both men. Richardson, by teaming with one of the chamber's shrewdest legislators, got his name on a major bill at a stage when most freshmen were still invisible.

Widely identified as a liberal Democrat on most issues, Richardson is not an automatic environmentalist vote on Energy and Commerce. When the Transportation Subcommittee began taking up legislation to reauthorize the "superfund" hazardous-waste cleanup program, Richardson resisted a proposal to add petroleum leaks, including 261 in his home state, to the list of sites to be cleaned up. Oil

and gas companies in New Mexico were concerned that under such a proposal they could be held partly liable for supplying fuel to local service stations with leaking tanks. But when the full committee voted to report superfund legislation in late 1985, Richardson and nine other Democrats joined in rejecting it as too weak.

Richardson also speaks out frequently on behalf of New Mexico's troubled uranium industry. In 1985 he offered an amendment to the authorization bill for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission allowing the agency to require that utilities use domestic uranium. He withdrew the proposal when Interior Chairman Morris K. Udall promised to hold hearings.

At Home: A former staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richardson made his entry into politics in 1978, when he moved to New Mexico to become executive director of the Democratic State Committee. Within months he was planning a 1980 congressional campaign against Republican Rep. Manuel Lujan Jr. He was criticized as a carpetbagger, but he responded that his ethnic heritage — he was raised in Mexico City by a Mexican mother and an American father — made

Bill Richardson, D-N.M.

heavily Hispanic New Mexico a logical home. By coming within 5,200 votes of the seemingly entrenched Lujan, Richardson became a star in his state party overnight. When the northern New Mexico 3rd District was created the next year, he was the early favorite to win.

His campaign survived some serious problems. He had to retract a statement in his literature that identified him as a "top" foreign policy adviser to the late Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. Questions about a \$100,000 campaign loan produced a probe by the Federal Election Commission. Although he was eventually cleared of any wrongdoing, the probe did bring his campaign unwanted negative publicity.

Richardson countered the bad press by campaigning dawn to dusk through the small towns and pueblos, reaching the Hispanic and Indian voters who together cast a majority of the ballots. With his 1980 organization still in place and a substantial campaign treasury, Richardson won the four-way primary with 36 percent. In the most loyally Democratic constituency in the state, his win was tantamount to election.

Richardson has not had serious competition since then, although at least one of his campaigns attracted considerable attention. In 1986, he was challenged for re-election by former GOP Gov. David Cargo, a whimsical man

who was seeking a political comeback 15 years after leaving office — following a long absence from the state.

Cargo managed to land some blows. When Richardson accepted an honorarium for touring a southwest Virginia coal mine, the Republican branded him "Peso Bill" — a move that generated home-state pressure and eventually helped encourage Richardson to donate the money to charity. Unfortunately for Cargo, his organization and vote-getting abilities did not match his capacity for one-liners. Richardson, capitalizing on publicity he received for his work on a bill to grant a national historic designation to the Santa Fe Trail, blew Cargo away with over 70 percent of the vote.

Richardson almost passed up politics for a career in professional baseball. Following his boyhood in Mexico City, he moved to the United States to attend school. At age 18, he was drafted by the Kansas City (now Oakland) Athletics. He might still be roaming the baseball diamond had an elbow injury not ended his sports career.

After graduating from Tufts University, Richardson moved to Washington and found work in the State Department's congressional relations office. He subsequently worked for three years as a Senate Foreign Relations Committee staffer before moving to New Mexico.

Committees

Education and Labor (17th of 21 Democrats)
Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education; Employment Opportunities.

Energy and Commerce (18th of 25 Democrats)
Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness; Energy and Power; Telecommunications and Finance.

Interior and Insular Affairs (15th of 23 Democrats)
National Parks and Public Lands; Water and Power Resources.

Select Aging (31st of 39 Democrats)
Housing and Consumer Interests; Human Services.

Elections

1986 General
Bill Richardson (D) 95,760 (71%)
David F. Cargo (R) 38,552 (29%)

1984 General
Bill Richardson (D) 100,470 (61%)
Louis H. Gallegos (R) 62,351 (38%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1982 (65%)

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	77,774 (46%)	D	59,788 (40%)	D	73,305 (53%)
R	89,612 (53%)	R	76,859 (52%)	R	63,159 (46%)
		I	9,325 (6%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1986			
Richardson (D)	\$370,329	\$244,188 (66%)	\$354,849
Cargo (R)	\$88,365	\$24,092 (27%)	\$86,865

1984	Richardson (D)	\$439,746	\$258,235 (59%)	\$425,934
	Gallegos (R)	\$207,831	\$27,400 (13%)	\$201,935

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	24	76	90	9	52	44
1985	25	71	89	6	33	65
1984	31	66	89	9	19	80
1983	16	82	87	9	29	71

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Produce MX missiles (1985)	N
Cut federal subsidy for water projects (1985)	Y
Weaken gun control laws (1986)	Y
Cut back public housing construction (1986)	N
Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986)	N
Impose textile import limits over Reagan veto (1986)	Y
Block chemical weapons production (1986)	Y
Impose South African sanctions over Reagan veto (1986)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	75	18	100	41
1985	70	14	76	32
1984	85	17	100	43
1983	95	13	88	20

Massachusetts - 6th District

6 Nicholas Mavroules (D)

Of Peabody — Elected 1978

Born: Nov. 1, 1929, Peabody, Mass.

Education: Graduated from Peabody High School, 1947.

Occupation: Personnel supervisor.

Family: Wife, Mary Silva; three children.

Religion: Greek Orthodox.

Political Career: Peabody City Council, 1958-61 and 1964-65; mayor of Peabody, 1968-79; candidate for Peabody City Council, 1955; candidate for mayor of Peabody, 1961.

Capitol Office: 2432 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-8020.



In Washington: When Mavroules first arrived in Washington, a small-town Massachusetts mayor with a parochial set of concerns, nobody would have singled him out as a future activist in national defense policy. But he has grown into an important player on major issues, one who has left the Peabody City Hall far behind.

Mavroules' presence on the Armed Services Committee is essentially an accident. His state delegation wanted someone on the committee to protect its defense contracting interests, and Mavroules, as a freshman, drew the assignment. It was not his first choice, but he accepted it with the cooperative spirit of a man who plays by the rules.

In his second term, though, after enduring some complaints at home that he was too pliant a leadership loyalist, Mavroules began striking out on his own. His target was the MX missile.

Over a period of four years, allied with arms control activists, he negotiated with the House leadership, sponsored key amendments and held strategy sessions in his office. He could claim much of the credit for the cap on MX development that became law in 1985.

After his high profile on the MX missile, Mavroules saw himself as an alternative to Les Aspin as chairman of Armed Services. As early as July 1986, Mavroules said his candidacy was "very possible" if the Democratic Caucus did not re-elect Aspin. Mavroules had been hurt by Aspin's opposition to him on the MX. "In the very long run," a dejected Mavroules said after the vote, "Aspin's position will serve to damage his credibility on the Democratic side."

But he never campaigned actively, insisting he was not out to oust Aspin; only when the caucus gave Aspin a no-confidence vote early in 1987, did he become a candidate. By then, it

was too late for him to emerge as the leading challenger. Mavroules was eliminated on the first ballot; eventually Aspin defeated all chairmanship challengers and won a second term.

The MX battle began in the 98th Congress, with anti-nuclear pressure building from a burgeoning grass-roots lobbying campaign. Mavroules and other MX critics made a major effort to kill the missile once and for all. Their 1984 vehicle was the defense authorization bill, to which Mavroules offered an amendment blocking any production of the MX.

After several hours of intricate parliamentary skirmishing, he won a major victory by forcing the House to vote on his measure. But when the roll call was held, he lost the war — his amendment was defeated by three votes.

"We have raised the public awareness of this issue," Mavroules said. "We have millions of people watching it and they deserve an up-or-down vote."

Early in 1985, the issue came up again, and again Mavroules' side lost, 219-213. But each new consideration of the MX seemed to place him in a more central position. In 1985, he shared leadership duties on the anti-MX side with fellow-Democrats Les AuCoin of Oregon and Thomas J. Downey of New York. Mavroules lacked their glibness and knowledge of overall defense policy. But he also was less burdened by identification as an unyielding liberal, and during much of the debate, he seemed to be the one coordinating strategy as the MX opponents lobbied to the last vote.

By mid-1985 both sides were weary from the protracted battle, and appeared ready to compromise. Mavroules joined the more conservative Democratic Rep. Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma and won a permanent cap of 50 MX missiles.

Nicholas Mavroules, D-Mass.

Massachusetts 6

**North Shore —
Lynn; Peabody**

The 6th offers chronically depressed mill towns, workaday factory cities, comfortable suburbs, pockets of aristocratic wealth and scenic ocean-front villages. Its vote-heavy areas are at the southern end of Essex County and are strongly Democratic.

Lynn, historically a shoe-manufacturing center but now home of a large General Electric Co. aircraft engine plant, is the 6th's largest city. Lynn and nearby Peabody, which was once the largest leather-processing city in the world, are conservative Democratic territory. They were crucial to former Democratic Gov. Edward J. King in his two Democratic primary battles against the more liberal Michael S. Dukakis. Both cities voted for Democrat John Kerry in the 1984 U.S. Senate contest, but Peabody narrowly backed Reagan for president.

East of Peabody is Salem, which resembles it in its Democratic roots and dependence on the electronics industry. Salem's image, however, is inextricably bound up with colonial New England's history. It was the scene of the famous witch trials of the 1690s and later a prosperous port from which Yankee traders set sail for the Orient and Europe. Its narrow streets were the setting for Nathaniel Hawthorne's dark explorations of the New England psyche.

North of Salem in Essex County, the aristocratic Yankee tradition provides GOP votes, although they have tended to be

liberal votes. Suburban Wenham was one of only three towns in the state where John B. Anderson outpolled Jimmy Carter in 1980. In 1984, there was a dramatic change. Wenham gave about two-thirds of its vote to both Reagan and Republican Senate candidate Ray Shamie.

On the northern coast, maritime interests are central to Gloucester, home of the Fisherman's Memorial landmark, and Rockport, a historic fishing village deluged with tourists and artists in the summer. Newburyport, whose 19th-century clipper ship economy gave way to light manufacturing, is the "Yankee City" singled out for study by sociologists in the 1920s. In recent years it has attracted some urban emigrants.

Haverhill, on the New Hampshire border, won the dubious distinction in a 1981 survey of being named the nation's metropolitan area with the least desirable "quality of life." The town's economic base in the shoe industry long ago disappeared, but there has been recent growth in the availability of high-technology jobs, and the city's comparatively low living costs are beginning to lure younger professionals who cannot afford to live in Boston.

Population: 518,841. White 508,101 (98%). Black 5,084 (1%). Spanish origin 5,898 (1%). 18 and over 383,191 (74%). 65 and over 68,157 (13%). Median age: 33.

Mavroules has had his failures. After chairing a special Armed Services panel on military procurement reform and steering some of its recommendations through the House, he had to struggle with skeptical Senate conferees to salvage any important changes. When his colleagues objected that he had given away too much, Mavroules became defensive and argued that he had done as well as could be expected. A second disappointment came as critics of Reagan's defense buildup focused on reducing funding for the strategic defense initiative. Mavroules expected to offer the key floor amendment, but seniority gave the honor to Charles E. Bennett of Florida.

Mavroules remains an old-style Massachusetts politician. He looks after constituents personally, holding office hours Mondays and Fridays back home.

He has been able to use his Armed Services seat to benefit his district's largest defense contractor, General Electric Co., whose plant in Lynn makes engines for the Navy's F-18 attack fighters. He also pushed through a bill directing the Defense Department to use more renewable energy technologies, including solar energy. The city of Beverly, in his district, has been the site of a photovoltaic demonstration project.

At Home: It took Mavroules a while to get settled in his seat. But in 1984, when he won 70 percent of the vote, Mavroules joined the league of Massachusetts Democrats who routinely win by hefty margins. In 1986, he ran without Republican opposition.

As a traditional urban ethnic Democrat, Mavroules has little in common with the Yankee elite that populates so much of his district.

Massachusetts - 6th District

He learned his politics in Peabody's City Hall, where he served a total of 16 years, first on the City Council and later as mayor.

In 1978, Mavroules sensed that Democratic Rep. Michael J. Harrington had lost his rapport with working-class Democrats. There was a feeling Harrington had spent too much of his career on human rights in Chile rather than on unemployment in Lynn. So Mavroules entered the primary.

Harrington, however, decided to retire rather than fight for a fifth full term. Mavroules went on to win the Democratic nomination against a state representative from Lynn and an Essex County commissioner who had Harrington's endorsement, but little else. Mavroules' victory margin was nearly equal to the plurality he won in his hometown of Peabody.

In the 1978 general election, Mavroules faced William E. Bronson, a conservative airline pilot who was eager for a second try after holding Harrington under 55 percent in 1976. With stronger party backing, Bronson reduced his 1976 deficit of 30,000 votes to fewer than 14,000. But the seat went to Mavroules.

Although Bronson wanted still another chance in 1980, he lost the Republican primary narrowly to Tom Trimarco, a moderate lawyer

with Italian ethnic support.

Viewed as the strongest candidate Republicans had put up in a decade, Trimarco worked hard to tie Mavroules to the Carter administration. He made clear inroads in the district, holding Mavroules' margins down everywhere outside the old factory towns — Peabody, Salem and Lynn — that were responsible for the Democrat's initial election. Only a 20,000-vote plurality in those three cities allowed Mavroules to win.

Trimarco decided to try again in 1982, and he put together a better-funded and more solidly organized campaign than his first. He geared his pitch to the blue-collar cities that had helped Mavroules hang on in 1980. Trimarco stressed his working-class origins and tried to put some distance between himself and the Reagan administration.

But Mavroules was stronger than before. His work in the House against the MX missile system had helped him shake his reputation as an old-fashioned party loyalist who initiated little on his own, and gave him appeal along the moderate Republican North Shore. He also used GOP economic policies effectively against Trimarco, winning back Democrats who had defected or sat out the 1980 election.

Committees

Armed Services (11th of 31 Democrats)
Investigations: Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems.

Small Business (7th of 27 Democrats)
Procurement, Innovation and Minority Enterprise Development (chairman).

Elections

1986 General
Nicholas Mavroules (D) 131,051 (100%)

1984 General
Nicholas Mavroules (D) 168,662 (70%)
Frederick S. Leber (R) 63,363 (26%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1982 (58%) 1980 (51%)
1978 (54%)

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	110,771 (45%)	D	94,549 (38%)	D	132,384 (53%)
R	137,258 (55%)	R	109,933 (44%)	R	109,094 (44%)
		I	41,896 (17%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1986			
Mavroules (D)	\$235,761	\$91,250 (39%)	\$184,485
1984			
Mavroules (D)	\$282,105	\$107,568 (38%)	\$242,841
Leber (R)	\$10,946	0	\$10,897

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	19	80	87	5	18	80
1985	20	76	87	6	13	87
1984	33	62	87	8	25	75
1983	21	76	87	7	18	80
1982	40	56	85	7	25	70
1981	36	63	84	14	28	72

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Produce MX missiles (1985)	N
Cut federal subsidy for water projects (1985)	Y
Weaken gun control laws (1986)	N
Cut back public housing construction (1986)	N
Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986)	N
Impose textile import limits over Reagan veto (1986)	Y
Block chemical weapons production (1986)	Y
Impose South African sanctions over Reagan veto (1986)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	85	5	93	24
1985	85	10	94	27
1984	75	4	92	38
1983	85	9	100	20
1982	80	9	100	19
1981	80	7	87	16